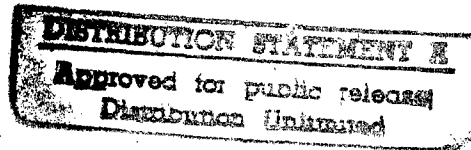


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17 October 1983



# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2216

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## HUNGARY

CSOORI PREFACE TO DURAY'S 'KUTYASZORITO' ATTACKED IN ES

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 16 Sep 83 pp 3-4

[Article by Janos Hajdu, editor in chief of the weekly radio program "168 Hours": "A Postscript to a Preface"]

[Text] Polemizing and disproving--sometimes perhaps sanguinely--a few false value judgments and ancient prejudices, I would like to offer the reader in the following some thoughts on recognizing and safeguarding national interests.

'Kutyaszorito'

The facts are the following: A Hungarian book entitled "Kutyaszorito" (Tight Spot) appeared in New York early this year. I will reveal the author's name later on. Not here and now, because I wish to convey also in this manner that the author's name is of no interest whatsoever; or more accurately, that it is entirely incidental. Even the man of letters who wrote the preface admits that the 140 printed pages of text are of no literary value. There is not a single line of scholarly statement in the book. Although it wishes to appear as the safeguarding of interests, specifically of the Hungarian minority's interests, the book cannot be termed a pamphlet because it is actually a non-systhematized collection of fragmentary facts. It is a collection whose historical inaccuracies and confused content, not to speak of its political prejudice, make it worthless as an intellectual effort.

According to the author's rambling narrative, this self-appointed champion of minority interests still lives in Czechoslovakia and was born in 1945 as the offspring of a family that was partly bourgeois and partly country squire. We mention this because, as he himself notes, Miklos Duray's existence and consciousness are determined primarily by his origin.

Presumably this is also the reason why his inherent rejection of socialist ideas stems not from this or that kind of experience gained in social practice, but from inherited family prejudices. He doubts the sincerity of the pre-1945 Sarlo (Sickle) movement's members in safeguarding the Hungarian minority's interests, because there were communists among Sarlo's leaders. "Sarlo was declared the official 'progressive tradition' because some of its leaders had been communist sympathizers and subsequently joined the party. And thus it is obvious why we did not want Sarlo: present experience clearly shows that it was a mistake to join."

The basic tone of this book, written in 1981, is complete rejection. Its purpose is not criticism motivated by a desire to improve, nor admission of the difficult past and the drawing of conclusions from it. Duray hates the socialist system's ideological principles. His presentation of minority complaints is merely an emotional element necessary for intonation.

Duray is so maniacal in pursuing his intention that he attacks Alexander Dubcek as just another figurehead of the Slovak majority; the fact that Dubcek professed to be a representative of socialist society makes him, in Duray's eyes, no better and no worse than anyone else during the past 40 years.

The trains of thought stemming from a spirit of complete rejection always threaten to produce the exact opposite effect, and this is also the note on which the 140 pages end. The absence of elementary common sense is too obvious. For this very reason we would not even have taken cognizance of this "work" but for the fact that a poet living in Budapest is sending--alas, sent--to New York the preface to this book.

#### Preface

With his message Sandor Csoori has undertaken to authenticate as solid safeguarding of minority interests Miklos Duray's attempted attack against the realities in Czechoslovakia. As a matter of fact, Csoori is the one who is undertaking to generalize the attack, in principle and geographically, against all our socialist neighbors. Moreover, he brings back into the down-to-earth sphere of political practice Duray's text that, as I have already said, is confused and switches into absurdities. To quote:

"These distortions bordering on insanity are not simple misunderstandings. Behind them there stands the law: socialism's ideological system and practice that have not been thought through.

"Let me mention some of the causes of trouble.

"The one-party system should be mentioned first.

"In principle, nationalism in countries with multiparty systems can never be so extreme and dictatorial as in countries governed by a single party. For where the political parties must compete for power, there one of the parties will necessarily assume the problems of the national minorities, either by conviction or out of party interest. Should the governing party fail to do so, in the next national election the minority, numbering one or two million, could easily switch its support to the opposition party and change the balance of power in this party's favor.

"Another cause that makes the individual member of a national minority at least as defenseless is the abolition or sharp curtailment of private ownership. When, say, a peasant belonging to a national minority had land, kept horses and cows and grew corn, and the state needed--even if only figuratively--the milk, meat, corn and the shoe leather made of cowhide, he had less to fear. He was protected not only by sanctioned statute, but by the state's self-interest as well. But the individual deprived of private property, having lost his economic support and shield, has become a completely lost citizen, an employee who can be shifted around at will.

"The third basic cause is the breakup of the churches that protected the minority spiritually, morally and linguistically. Marxism's ideological hail of fire has severely damaged the religious life and religious institutions of the majority as well, but it has caused the most destruction in the trenches of minority life."

Before we begin to analyze these ideological and political propositions, I would like to state emphatically in advance that I intend to say not one word about Sandor Csoori the writer. His poetry and the role he has undertaken in public life belong in two separate spheres that have no common denominator. Naturally, this statement applies not to the poet's entire lifework to date, rather to his present aspect as reflected in his mentioned pamphlet. The history of literature will eventually examine whether the poet's lifework can be termed sincere and authentic in the light of his system of political views. The importance of this question here and now is entirely secondary. The relevant question is as follows: What does Csoori, by exploiting his status as poet and his functions in literary public life, want to persuade the domestic and minority Hungarian intellectuals to do, and--through the intellectual opinionsetters--the Hungarians living in the Carpathian basin, be they Hungarian or other citizens.

#### Ignorance or Confusion

Let us examine first of all Sandor Csoori's three "basic causes" for their historical truth. He regards the multiparty system as a proven guaranty against the extreme oppression of national minorities. This statement is not worth debating in general, because it would not lead anywhere. Specifically in our part of the world the fact remains that neither the political pluralism of pre-World War I Hungary nor the political pluralism in the period between the two world wars was able to provide an effective guaranty of, and opportunity for, meaningful change of policies on matters pertaining to national minorities. Neither at home nor in the neighboring countries. Note that this does not excuse any blunders by the communist parties now in power or any backsliding from the principled positions they themselves have advocated. But the multiparty system as a counterproposal has no historical credence. Not even in present-day Western Europe. In Csoori's opinion, there is probably no bourgeois parliamentary system more traditional than the one in the United Kingdom. And yet Ulster--as I will point out in its interrelations to be discussed latter--is the horrible site of murders by both the majority and minority. In Spain, after the disappearance of Franco and his regime from the life of the Spanish people and amidst the otherwise convincing rebirth of democracy, no progress has been made for the time being in resolving the Basque conflict. And what about the agonies of Belgium? Or the demands of the Bretons in France, a country longest aware of being homogeneous?

I will not even cite examples from outside Europe. Suffice it to say that the facts do not support Sandor Csoori's placative propositions.

Private ownership as a guaranty against the defenselessness of national minorities? If Csoori is interested in the propertyless majorities in the various periods and under various regimes prior to 1945, that is his funeral. But how can an adult Hungarian overlook the fact that no scalpel can possibly extirpate the cancerous growth of chauvinism and racial hatred in this part of the

world? The Christian owner of a threshing machine held private property and enjoyed "legally" guaranteed existence, while the Jewish tenant farmer was hauled off to Auschwitz. The right to own feudal estates was recognized on both sides of the border drawn by the Treaty of Trianon (with some restrictions in Czechoslovakia), but after 1938 the Romanian small capitalist in "re-annexed" northern Transylvania or the Slovak intellectual in south Slovakia would have seen what he got had he dared to demand his minority rights. And in 1941 neither Horthy's Hungary, nor Tiso's Slovak state and the royal regime in Romania inquired about their citizens' native language; these citizens died together at the Don. Not the socialist contemporary, but civilian posterity kneeling at the monuments of the mostly civilian martyrs asks Csoori whether ignorance or confusion inspired this proposition. (Or perhaps Willy Breandt's prayer at the monument to the victims of the Warsaw ghetto was suspect?)

The third proposition concerning the church as the defender of minorities. Which church, where and when? We of course know exactly when and where the Protestant churches stood up as temporal interpreters and defenders of civil rights, confirming and representing minority interest as well. But we also know that the almost always pro-Habsburg Catholic clergy in Hungary never lifted a finger to improve the lot of the Orthodox Romanians in Transylvania or to support their right to speak their native language and preserve their ancient customs.

There have been and still are people along the Danube who derive their sense of human dignity from their religion. But perhaps even Sandor Csoori will concede that in every socialist country, with reference to the theoretical principles of our systems, also the millions of believing citizens have learned to demand their nationality rights specifically since they have been "damaged by Marxism's ideological hail of fire."

Had Csoori said that it was a fatal mistake for any communist leader and communist party to deny specifically the people they are leading the rights that have been declared lawful and even their mandatory due, he would have been speaking the truth. For within our ideological system, which by no means has not been thought through, nationality policy has been implemented in practice everywhere exactly to the same extent that the societies in question have had successes or failures in other respects as well. In our country society is also grateful to every man of letters who, with the intention of setting things right, helps to uncover all the omissions and mistakes with which we have debited our account in the course of seeking our socialist path and building socialism.

#### Omitted Passage

The program before us, however, is different. Basically, or in principle, its intention is different. And this does not have to be read between the lines of his text. The author spares his readers possible misunderstandings, because he himself says openly: "After all, the Basques are shooting and the Irish are blasting. Then why aren't the Hungarians of Transylvania or Slovakia following their example?"

"I have not improvised this challenging question just now. Italian radical intellectuals asked it years ago.

"What was I able to answer them? I did not come forth with the hackneyed argument that there was no way the national minorities of Central Europe could obtain weapons. Instead I replied that as yet our minorities have not even reached the electrifying idea of arming themselves. That is to say, a consensus of at least two people is necessary for an idea, a feeling, a truth to be viable."

The quoted few lines are one, if not the main, point in Csoori's text. And yet Radio Free Europe is omitting it consistently. Reference is made on each occasion to the fact that the text has been abridged because of air time. The excuse is grotesque: this passage is only one-sixtieth of the entire text.

The reason is very obvious. Radio Free Europe broadcasts not only to Hungary and not only in Hungarian. Thus someone somewhere in Washington must have decided not to allow the broadcasting from Munich of this New York-born idea to incite civil war in Romania and Czechoslovakia. Incidentally, American diplomats stationed in Eastern Europe were heard to say in recent months that they had been definitely opposed to the dissemination of the Csoori's text in these countries. They strived for months to block dissemination. Because, in the opinion of the State Department's experts, the undertaking was harmful even from the viewpoint of American (!) interests. Since mid-summer, however, the influence of the State Department's experts has declined, and the conservative leaders of the National Security Council feel that the time has come for a policy of all-out attack. Since then the Csoori text is being broadcast, but without the quoted passage for the time being.

Of a person who has written the Basque and Irish comparison in this form, it is of course futile to expect judgment based on realpolitik. To anyone who views the world through such distorted optics, it is almost hopeless to explain that the Basques of Spain, the Irish Catholics of Ulster, or the Armenians of Turkey will ever be able to redeem themselves by their nauseatingly familiar methods. And it is probably not worth while asking such a person to explain whom does he regard as Italian radical intellectuals. Perhaps those members of the Red Brigade who brought Italian democracy to the verge of collapse, who with their stolen symbols confirmed in every petty bourgeois of the world the panicky belief that the revolutionary left is identical with fascistoid terror?

For the reader's information we might add that this writing of Sandor Csoori's was not without its antecedents. On his earlier American trips he lectured before local Hungarian clubs, and several of his speeches subsequently appeared in print. In them he came very close to his present propositions. In behalf of the arrow-cross emigres, an essay in the July-August issue of NEMZETOR welcomed his latest writing. The title of the essay was likewise "Kutyaszorito." The essay's author--after contending in the same breath that the Hungarian government was merely Moscow's puppet, and also that it had partially restored capitalism in Hungary, in which those scoundrel Western bankers also participated by providing loans--concludes that "hands off Sandor Csoori, for he alone is worth more and means more to the Hungarian people than the present puppet government."



### What Falsification?

Regardless of how demonstrably the political awareness and education of the author lauded in this manner are lacking in historical knowledge, and in lessons necessarily drawn therefrom, that would have qualified him to engage publicly in politics, his patriotism and sense of national self-preservation should have been aroused by the fact that, in the introductory part of the same article which hastens to his defense (!), the Soviet Union is attacked in a way that a Western intellectual, accustomed to think in terms of global interrelations, would never attack it. For NEMZETOR, echoing Csoori, writes that the Soviet Union's internationalism is shrill and fascinating, but is based on falsification.

What falsification? That in 1945 the Soviet Union liberated the greater part of Europe, including this country? Or perhaps it is not true that a decisive characteristic of Soviet foreign policy is support of national liberation movements?

Why shrill and fascinating? Specifically the latest historical researches prove that in 1945 the Soviet Union did not make the slightest misleading gesture to indicate that the political balance sheet of World War II might show even a single concession in Hungary's favor in relation to its neighbors. This can be painful, because we had to assume the Horthy period's heritage also in this respect. But to attack the Soviet Union because of this is political stupidity. We must ask the author: Is the knowledge not painful that he has written and released something to which a Hungarian nazi has been able to respond with welcoming agreement? Is this not a test of the set-up equation, one whose outcome should compel him to recoil from the consequences of his propositions even if the facts and possibilities were confirmed back as positive and progressive?

Knowing this essay by Csoori and bearing also in mind his lifework as poet, we must call him to account--after reminding him of his erstwhile protestations--for his sense of responsibility as a left-wing man of letters. Because with this writing in 1983 he has turned his back on the progressive national awareness of value that has existed in Hungary all along, even before the present socialist change, and which by no means has led always and necessarily to revolutionary socialism (take Oszkar Jaszi's lifework, for example), but has led to regarding inciting nationalism as a destructive threat. And aside from his responsibility as a man of letters, he can be called to account--in the same way as any Hungarian citizen, regardless of ideology--as to why he is participating, with premeditated intent, in political actions that--in addition to their other questionable features--are seriously hampering the Hungarian government in asserting our national interests.

I am not saying, amidst bitter reproaches, that the Hungarians' vital interests must not be approached from a morally motivated point of view! To the contrary, when we are making decisions and taking actions in the matter of our minorities, specifically the moral approach can lead us to the best solutions that are exemplary and radiate the most force. But we must not forget that at the end of the 20th century mankind is living under a set of conditions that points toward states living side by side. This coexistence is either peaceful

(or even friendly if we are fortunate), in which case it is based on some generally recognized law and order, to a large extent independently of how just this law and order is (!). Or the coexistence is not peaceful and hence a source of danger. The fact that specifically in Europe the law and order regulating relations among states places mandatory renouncement of the use and threat of force above everything else has accurately traceable and demonstrable antecedents. I repeat: above everything else! Even if the existing borders, ethnic conditions and social structures were created in the past by force, justifiably or unjustifiably. For this is the common denominator from which it is possible to reach a point of relative rest. On the other hand, only a sense of relative peace, and the state and national self-confidence evolving from it, now faster and again more slowly, can be the spasmolytic against such troubles as, for example, tensions over national minorities.

#### What Common Sense Dictates

Everyone must show self-restraint in this historical process, and the most and strictest self-restraint must be shown by those who have lost much. Take the Germans, for example. Because every one of their neighbors sensing a reason to do so will respond immediately and angrily to the slightest absence of self-discipline. The French as well as the Dutch, not only the Poles and the Czechs! At the Helsinki Conference on European Peace and Security, the leader of the Hungarian delegation (and also the first citizen of his country) started out from this realization when he said that he welcomed the charter based on European realities, in behalf of a nation that had lost much and yet--or perhaps specifically because of this--saw no other solution.

Franz Josef Strauss, who earlier and not entirely without reason had become the symbol of the antistatus-quo forces, visited Warsaw and Berlin in 1983, so that no one could accuse him any longer of rejecting everything that was the basis of coexistence. Sandor Csoori would probably shrug this off too, or he might come up with a depressing and frankly shocking story from some neighboring country.

The Hungarian who is rationally concerned for his kin cannot do this, and not because he slyly suppresses his emotions in favor of his relative prosperity's bowl of lentils, as suggested in the greetings sent to Sandor Csoori from Munich. (This libel of motives is just as old as every nationalist doctrine of salvation that denies society's material laws of motion.) Specifically because we have been able to lay the foundation and thereby create opportunities, common sense today dictates that we use all our national energy to strengthen our country materially and intellectually. For analysis of the foci of minority crises proves only one proposition (although not to the same extent everywhere): lasting and dynamic social, economic and cultural growth, preferably not too different from the growth in the neighboring countries, has a favorable healing effect.

Our plans to strengthen democracy, placed on the agenda in the wake of our present economic conditions, will eventually provide more complete guaranties of those fundamental human rights, only one of which is the befitting treatment of minorities. Will our anticipated successes in the realization of this program emanate beyond our borders? The model itself will certainly not, because

in Eastern Europe one country will never be a carbon copy of another. But perhaps the anticipated result will. And if the objective proves attainable, then something entirely unprecedented might happen: prejudices, and many other things besides, could be overcome beyond our borders, in the best local national interests.

I am convinced that Hungarian public opinion today keeps itself informed more circumspectly than to permit that significant strata might let themselves be shifted to the course of foreign policy suggested by Csoori. I think that Sandor Csoori, in developing through self-hypnosis his role as a shaman prophet, has passed the point where he can realistically perceive our increased--fortunately increased--ability to assert our national interests, rationally and with self-discipline. At least in his pamphlet there is nothing to indicate that he could. Yet the intensification of rational patriotism would be a task very worthy of a poet.

Politics likewise has come to realize long ago that the one-sided, and therefore not always credible, propaganda of internationalism penetrates to the depth of Hungarian public opinion only if we approach with frank openness also the modern interpretation of our national identity. A part of which, of course, is also care for the Hungarians living beyond our borders. As we heard in the eulogy by Andras Suto at the funeral of Gyula Illyes, what could be more natural than our desire to care for those Hungarians who--and this we must always say with clear unambiguity--are our own flesh and blood, but not our fellow citizens.

Historical experience dictates in this part of the world that we make our country such that will lend recognized legitimacy to all our other efforts as well.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Gorzow Province Plenum

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 7 Sep 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (aw/frab): "How to Emerge from the Housing 'Nadir' Given the Available Resources: Plenum of the Gorzow Province PZPR Committee"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The deliberations of the Gorzow Province PZPR Committee were inaugurated by Florian Ratajczak, first secretary of the Province Committee. He stressed the importance of the plenum's topics and greeted PZPR Central Committee members from Gorzow Province, Province Committee members and invited guests, including Stanislaw Kukuryka, minister of construction and building materials industry, and Wacław Kulczynski, deputy director of the Central Committee's Economic Department. Next, Province Committee secretary Henryk Piekarski presented a report on the province's housing problems./

The report dealt with the basic problems and aspects of housing construction in Gorzow Province in recent years as well as with the attendant current pace of catching up with the quantitative arrears in releasing housing for occupancy as regards the adopted plans and primarily social needs. Assessment of this situation and discussion of specific ways of breaking the impasse in housing construction were the topics of a series of sessions of local party echelons and meetings with the socio-economic aktiv prior to yesterday's PZPR Province Committee Plenum. They confirmed that there is a chance that this year may become a turning point in halting the current unfavorable trends in housing construction and that the related possibilities should be exploited by all participants in the housing construction process. This should promote the basic direction of the housing policies, namely, putting a halt to the growth of the waiting period for housing applicants and, as of 1985, reversing this trend systematically. A parallel and equally important task is eliminating the arrears as regards the utility infrastructure and attendant construction.

The material and financial conditions and generally limited possibilities of housing construction are now widely known, and for this very reason all participants in the investment process, from the stage of preparation and design to the stage of construction, should adhere undeviatingly to economic principles when pursuing the maximization of effects in the form of housing and attendant facilities. In practice, however, too many instances of deviation from these principles still occur: this concerns both design and investment services and construction enterprises. This is not without influence on, among other things, the continuing low quality of dwellings.

The feasibility of the program assumptions for housing construction through 1990 also hinges on meeting several basic conditions. Here mention should be made of, among other things, the need for the rate of the development of building sites to become faster than the rate of housing construction, and the need to base the whole of investment processes on master architectural plans that still do not exist for many cities in Gorzow Province. The implementation of the adopted assumptions also requires augmenting the capacities of construction enterprises, expanding single-family housing construction and attracting toward it the interest of plant workforces and management, which have considerable potential in this respect, and also maintaining in proper condition the so-called old housing stock.

In conclusion, H. Piekarski declared: "Today's discussion of the assumptions of the program for housing construction in our province will be specifically reflected in the plan defining the targets for the years 1986-1990. Hence we expect constructive proposals serving to eliminate the existing limitations and shortcomings and create real prospects for developing housing construction and shortening the waiting period for applicants."

/In the subsequent discussion Zbigniew Falinski pointed out that the housing shortage has become a major political problem in recent years./ Hence also the need to take every possible action to alleviate the housing crisis. Yet in Slubice the housing situation is alarming, according to the speaker. Few vacant dwellings owing to the so-called population movement can be obtained. To be sure, several attics have been converted to dwellings and there exist technical possibilities for expanding this way of obtaining housing. However, in the speaker's opinion, the existing provisions of the housing law preclude assistance from the state in this respect. In Slubice 10 units previously occupied by offices have been converted to apartments and a building has been converted to a hotel as well. Cooperative housing construction is complemented by the housing built with the sponsorship of work establishments, e.g. the Regional Administration of Public Roads or the KOMES Clothing Plants, as well as by the housing built by youth housing cooperatives. The regular housing construction enterprise is not interested in building housing in Slubice.

/Jerzy Bryk made the reminder that the problems of housing construction have been repeatedly considered by the political and administrative authorities./ Recently the rate of the release of housing for occupancy has even become somewhat faster. This is due to the release of dwellings to tenants so that they themselves may take care of the finishing operations. Local authorities are trying to do more to promote plant-sponsored housing construction. At present state farms are doing most to sponsor housing construction on their areas, although this too is little compared with the needs. An obstacle to developing private home building is the shortages of finishing materials. In the gmina [parish] stand several buildings in unfinished condition, yet their owners still do not know when will they be able to move in. In Mysliborz the building of a new water treatment plant is needed. The existing plant, built in 1902, cannot meet current needs. In the speaker's opinion, it is necessary to establish at the gmina level an agency that would penalize polluters of natural environment, and especially of water.

/Jan Znoj pointed out that even a complete and punctual fulfillment of the program for developing housing and attendant construction in Gorzow Province

through 1990 will alleviate the housing problem only to a small extent./ For the problem is tremendous. Thus every possible way of accelerating construction should be explored. One way is the performance of finishing operations by the tenants themselves. In addition, the acceptance by housing cooperatives of the obligation of eliminating minor defects and flaws should contribute to augmenting the production capacities of construction enterprises. In the speaker's opinion it appears necessary to provide equal access to finishing materials for both multi-family and single-family housing construction.

/In Jan Kucharski's opinion, the principal causes of our housing problem are the poor organization of labor, waste of materials and the high materials-intensiveness and poor quality of construction operations./ What is worse, the main contractor in Gorzow Province--the Gorzow Construction Combine (GKB) is not eager to start construction in Choszczna, even though it had earlier pledged itself to do so. In this connection, the formation of small housing construction cooperatives and plant-sponsored housing construction should be promoted. In this connection also, local raw-material wastes should be utilized.

/Miroslaw Sauter raised the issue of single-family housing construction and pointed to the need to work out solutions offering to any willing individual a chance to build his own house./ For so far private homes have been built mostly by persons who are not workers. It may be that then the turnover of the labor force will diminish. It would also be worthwhile for work establishments not only to sponsor normal housing construction but also to participate in the repair of housing stock. This is because, in the speaker's opinion, dwellings occupied by the elderly represent a considerable potential for additional housing. For often a single individual occupies a dwelling of several rooms while at the same time large families are crowded in cubicles. Thus the solution of the housing problem requires introducing a mandatory exchange of dwellings, endowing the agencies of state administration with the powers to allocate cooperative-built housing and regulating the problem of subtenants.

/Zbigniew Mazurkiewicz, director of the GKB, discussed publicly the problems encountered by his enterprise./ They consist in shortages of labor force, finishing materials and tires. All this may cause further delays in housing construction.

/Roman Strasz declared: "We do not passively await help from the superior authorities./ To solve the tremendous housing problem in Sulecin, this year the construction of cooperative housing blocks and a communal building--which will also contain a pharmacy and service shops--has been commenced this year. In addition, the construction of the so-called general plant block is beginning. What happened was that several local plants pooled their resources to undertake this construction. In Sulecin there is a shortage of building lots for single-family housing construction."

/Referring to the basic slogan of the plenum, "How Can Resources be Utilized Better to Improve the Housing Situation," Elzbieta Maciejowska pointed out that the measures in this field include and should include both emergency measures and long-range measures./ It should thus be borne in mind that effective emergency measures should not harm the long-term prospects. Yet such measures are needed. Citing a study by the Gorzow city party echelon, she

pointed out that the repair of the old housing stock has become a serious problem owing to its neglect so far. Soon now, unless the approach is changed, the recently erected residential buildings will become part of the old neglected and decaying housing stock. E. Maciejowska also supported revising the vocational curricula to train more workers skilled in the scarce occupations.

/Waldemar Sokol recalled the initiatives of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth (ZSMP) in Gorzow Province./He also announced that the first block of 40 dwellings to be built owing to the initiative of the local ZSMP organization will be released for occupancy on 7 October in Miedrzyrzec: altogether, the ZSMP-sponsored youth housing construction cooperative there will build 267 dwellings. This movement has spread to other localities in the province and is passing the test of practice. However, the youth housing construction cooperatives face the the obstacle of a shortage of developed building lots and have problems in getting bank loans--problems that are fairly often created by the institutionalized housing construction cooperatives.

/Stanislaw Karpowicz presented the problems of housing construction on state farms./

/Waclaw Kulczynski, deputy director of the Economic Department under the PZPR Central Committee, outlined the situation in the country, which is such that the decline in housing construction has been halted and there is every sign that the yearly targets will be fulfilled, but even so the major industrial centers exist in a critical situation./ He also reminded those present that the heads of the state consider it important to increase the share of personal consumer savings invested in housing construction. There are many other matters as well that need to be revised when implementing the housing program this year. Discussion is still under way on the question of the government's placing order for the building materials whose shortages represent special bottlenecks to construction. The idea of some rationing of building materials also is under consideration.

/Stanislaw Kukuryka, minister of the construction and building materials industry, discussed the intentions of the ministry he heads as well as the conditions for implementing housing construction./

Special attention is deserved by the long-range strategy described by the minister.

Its main point is the decision that the development of the building materials industry and the supply of these materials should spearhead construction production. Secondly, the building materials industry should diversify rather than continue concentrating on a few construction methods (e.g. large-panel construction), which, however, cannot be achieved soon. Thirdly, the production of insulating materials will be expanded in order to prevent the leakage of heat across walls. The minister criticized the Gorzow Construction Combine for planning a 7-percent increase in its capacities this year. Such a low rate of capacity expansion corresponds neither to the demand of the city and region nor to the material conditions, which of a certainty are going to improve.

Stanislaw Kukuryka also stated explicitly that house-building factories should completely utilize their capacities if they wish to benefit from tax relief and other preferences. Next year the Gorzow House-Building Factory should operate in two shifts. The tax relief and preferences granted will be such as to encourage the enterprise to build facilities in special social demand such as health service structures, schools, etc. as well as to conduct housing construction in small localities. The minister also announced that exact settlements of accounts based on uniform cost estimates will soon be introduced in general construction. Further, he encouraged the Gorzow construction industry to streamline its wage system. The experience in this field has been good--for example, collective agreements or piecework-pay packages. The enterprises showing no initiative in this respect will have no right to complain about shortages of labor force. The wage system being prepared for the construction industry will allow for the advantages or losses due to the savings or waste of materials and the quality of the operations performed. Minister Kukuryka appealed to the management of construction enterprises not to fear the trade unions in its domain of action. Disputes between the unionists and the management are not harmful so long as they are reasonably conducted and valid. For trade unions are needed for a better integration of the workforces.

The last three persons registered for the discussion: Tomasz Makowski, Kazimierz Kazmierczak and Benedykt Wisniowski, offered their comments for recording in the minutes of the Plenum.

The PZPR Province Committee Plenum adopted a resolution on the topic of its deliberations. /(Its text is published separately in this newspaper.)/

Ending the Plenum, Florian Ratajczak, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee, assured those present that the Executive Board and Secretariat of the Province Committee shall consistently keep track of the fate of the suggestions made at the Plenum and acknowledged as valid, as well as of the extent and ways in which the resolution is going to be implemented.

#### Union, Plant Activities

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 8 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Danuta Kolodziej-Gluchowska: "Trade Union and Plant Activities"]

[Text] Andrzej Martul, member of the trade-union board at the Bartoszyce Construction Enterprise (BPB), said: "At first, which was not so long ago, 70 persons had enrolled in the trade union. At our first meeting, last March, we elected a seven-member board. Given the then number of union members, more could not be elected to the board. Now our union already has more than 200 members and we feel that more members could be added to the board. In a cohesive work establishment where the entire workforce is available on the spot, the current board would surely suffice. But our workforce is scattered among many construction sites distant from each other and from the company in Bartoszyce. We perform construction operations in Olsztyn, Biskupiec, Lidzbark, Dobre Miasto and, of course, in Bartoszyce itself. Each of us board members has his regular job duties: service in the trade union is voluntary and we cannot often get away from our regular jobs in order to travel to



construction sites on trade-union matters. Our contacts with construction crews in other cities are too loose. That is why now that we have grown somewhat stronger and coped with the most urgent union issues, we intend to select representatives or liaison men on every construction site so as to strengthen contacts with the board. I believe that more people should participate in volunteer civic activities."

Andrzej Martul is 23 years old. His wife is a student and he himself intends to take correspondence courses to improve his occupational knowledge. The election to the union board is undoubtedly an honor to the young man, but it also is a major burden, especially when one approaches seriously his job and social duties. But this is exactly how Andrzej Martul and all other board members approach their duties.

At present more than 200 persons belong to the union, mostly blue-collar workers. ("Office workers do not flock to trade unions," I was told at the BPB.) The workforce itself of the Bartoszyce enterprise amounts to 560 persons. The interests of the entire workforce rather than only of union members are pursued by the board. For it was not in behalf of the union members alone that the board procured shipments of cured meats (rationed, of course) for the plant canteen, and it was not in their behalf alone either that last spring it had intervened to improve the regularity of supplies of soup and coffee to the construction site in Lidzbark, and similarly it acted in behalf of the entire workforce when organizing entertainment. To be sure, it could not organize much entertainment, because funds are scarce and have to be economized, but even so in the short period since its formation the board arranged two berry-picking excursions, a scenic tour for children and a longer, two-day tour for adults.

Everyday union activities also include managing a modest budget--about 170,000 zlotys taken over from the previous trade unions plus about 120,000 zlotys annually in current revenues. Expenditures are made strictly in accordance with the list resolved upon. These funds have to suffice for statutory benefits for union members and assistance to those in need who cannot manage on their own. It was resolved to increase statutory benefits and differentiate the size of allowances. A general meeting authorized the board to adopt resolutions. A proposal for contributing a part of the union's funds for the construction of the hospital in Bartoszyce will be submitted for discussion. To be sure, the funds gained from such social campaigns will account for only a small fraction of the cost of that project, but the population of Bartoszyce and its environs wants thus to participate directly if only to a small extent in the completion of this needed and long-awaited facility. It should be borne in mind that it is the Bartoszyce Construction Enterprise itself that is building this hospital.

The everyday activities of the new union also include proposals for wage increases. Many such proposals have been made. What is the position of the board on them? It supports the proposals coming from those who deserve wage increases most. This is a complicated issue, because which claimant will agree with the opinion that he does not deserve a wage increase? Who will be satisfied with a refusal? A particularly large number of such proposals comes from the concrete-production department. Work there is arduous and some of the workers want a transfer to construction sites where supposedly work is easier. The wages in that department should be raised, but where is the money

for this to be found? The union board organized a meeting between the department's workforce and the management. It turned out that there was just enough money available to give wage increases to 12 persons. Those who received no increases are certainly disappointed and embittered, even if they understand that the enterprise can pay wages only out of the income it earns, that the times when subsidies were granted and companies used to be rescued with various mysterious reserve funds are a thing of the past.

The unionist said: "We do only what we can do ourselves." A member of the workforce self-government added: "The enterprise is now on its own financially and can dispose only of the funds available to it." They agree that one cannot spend more than one earns. Everyone--particularly engineer Witold Kozlowski, the deputy chairman of the workers' council--remembers the not so distant past when, following the introduction of the "three S's" [self-management, self-financing, self-government], the enterprise found itself in great financial trouble. The causes and ways of overcoming the problem began to be explored. Both the management and the workers' council worked on this. A resolution by the latter resulted in establishing, e.g. a cost-estimate division that undertook the truly sacrificial labor of checking every invoice and meticulously analyzing and ordering financial records, so that all calculations would be made with allowance for actual cost and without raising prices but also without adding to losses. Such activities fairly often prolong the calculations but are needed in a situation in which the prices of certain materials change. As a result of these and many other initiatives, the Bartoszyce Construction Enterprise is now sailing on becalmed waters and enjoys the good opinion of the bank inasmuch as so far it has never been refused a loan request.

The conviction is taking root that, once the firm begins to prosper, the possibilities for improving its wage system will increase. The workers' council has demonstrated through all of its activities that it is needed by the enterprise: it consists of competent individuals who are familiar with the plant's activities and instantly perceive any problems. Engineer Kozlowski said: "It is thus easier to eliminate injustices and restore normal rhythm without first awaiting an investigation and thus permitting the mistakes to grow." And he added: "After all a collective means that people put their heads together, thus conceiving more ideas for improving performance and averting mistakes."

What about the management? It is extremely pleased with its cooperation with the workers' council. The deputy directors engineers Polkowski and Oponowicz declared to this reporter that harmony and complete accord reign between the management and the workers' self-government. The same opinion was voiced by the members of the workers' council. When asked about the relations between that council and the trade union, the people I interviewed also defined them as correct, conflict-free relations between partners.

Thus, an idyll? No, not completely. It was said that differences of opinion exist on some matters, but that all disputes are resolved within the collective, through discussion, without resorting to outside arbiters. At first, for example, there had been certain misunderstandings as regards some spheres of action of the workers' council and the union board. The workers' council had been established earlier, just before the proclamation of the martial law, and it rapidly resumed its activities after being reinstated:

the activities of some of its committees overlapped with the activities of the subsequently established trade union. It seems that the demarcation of the competences between the council and the trade union occurred in a tempestuous manner but both sides prefer not to divulge to the press the details of that process, especially considering that they now have reached an accord.

I was told: "The rumors are that in other plants the smoothness of this accord still varies. This may be true, but with us it is different. We have never yet failed to reach an understanding on our own. Even in the tumultuous times of chaos, when strikes and menacing conflicts broke out one after another in the country, here at our plant Solidarity and branch members sat down together in the same room and together discussed matters important to the enterprise and the workforce. Admittedly, sometimes these negotiations had been protracted, but what is important is that they ended well. The authority of the plant party organization did not suffer either: it has been headed for the last 16 years by Henryk Jakutowicz, tool-shop employee, party member since 1948. His customary saying is: if a man has a clean conscience and clean hands, he fears nothing, looks everyone straight in the eye and answers without trickery."

But people at the Bartoszyce enterprise are no different from people elsewhere, except perhaps that they are more understanding and perhaps that they include a greater proportion of individuals prone to a sober consideration of the arguments of partners and reflections upon the ambient circumstance. Neither is the enterprise's situation any better than that of the other construction companies: it has the same problems in acquiring certain materials (steel, porous concrete, emulsion paints), and it too cannot afford an across-the-board increase in wages, which are hardly too high (in July the average wage including all pay allowances amounted to 11,943 zlotys), and it has to calculate and economize in everything very scrupulously in order to avoid bankruptcy. A characteristic feature here is the common restraint exercised in both complaints about vexations and boasting about the incontestable accomplishments. This restraint is displayed by both the managerial personnel and the activists of social and political organizations. Self-government by the workforce promotes the feeling of responsibility for the present and the future of the plant and the workforce.

#### Tarnow Province Plenum

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 12 Sep 83 pp 1,4

[Article by Jerzy Rzeszuto: "No Illusions Should be Formed About Our Own Tasks: Deliberations of the Tarnow Province PZPR Committee Chaired by S.Opalko"]

[Text] (Own information.) Initiative, thrift and honest work are not slogans but postulates, necessities, and they also offer the only way toward restoring the health of our country's economy. Hence too these words were often sounded in the comments by the discussants during last Saturday's Plenum of the Tarnow Province PZPR Committee, which was chaired by Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Tarnow Province PZPR Committee. The participants included Prof Wladyslaw Baka, minister, government plenipotentiary for the economic reform; Stanislaw Partyla, chairman of the Tarnow Province Committee of the United Peasant Party (ZSL); Stanislaw Gajewski, vice chairman of the Tarnow Province Committee of the Democratic Party (SD); and Stanislaw Nowak, Tarnow Province Governor.

The Plenum began with the presentation, by PZPR Province Committee secretary Jerzy Sobiecki, of a report from the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee on the tasks of the party echelons and organizations as well as of the state and economic administration in fulfilling the conservation and anti-inflation programs in the work establishments and institutions of Tarnow Province. This Saturday Plenum was the third in a row to be devoted to economic issues and the extent of application of the economic reform. Secretary Sobiecki declared that the work to draft plant conservation and anti-inflation programs was begun as far back as last April, and at some enterprises even in March. Many teams consisting of experts from various subsectors, party organizations, and representatives of self-governments and trade unions as well as of the NOT [Chief Technical Organization] and the PTE [Polish Society of Economists] were appointed. Party organizations at a majority of work establishments had from the beginning joined actively and energetically in the work on the plant conservation and anti-inflation programs. At present all enterprises have drafted such programs for the years 1983-1985.

The fulfillment of the plan targets for the years 1983-1985 will be decided chiefly by the quantities of conserved raw and other materials and fuels and energy. Polls conducted by work establishments indicate that during those years the consumption of raw and other materials will be reduced by more than 1.5 billion zlotys and that of fuels and energy, by nearly 290 million zlotys, of which coal alone by 65 million zlotys. In addition, plans exist to reduce the imports of raw and other materials and spare parts by nearly US\$1 million. Such figures are, however, too low compared with the actual possibilities.

The enterprises in Tarnow Province expect to increase their output by nearly 1.8 billion zlotys owing to their conservation programs. This is, however, only 9 percent of the overall increase in output planned for that period.

How has the Tarnow industry performed this year? During the first 8 months of this year, fulfillment of production targets increased by 15.6 percent compared with a like period last year. It has to be stated, nevertheless, that with each month--except last August--the value of output has been declining. A disturbing fact is that during these 8 months employment has remained at the same level instead of decreasing on the same scale as that of production. Plants continue to recruit large numbers of additional employees without utilizing their own resources or changing their traditional structures of employment. By the same token, the growth rate of labor productivity tends to decline. The shortages of raw and other material have resulted in a lower quality of the products manufactured. The effect? In the first half of this year the province's industry forfeited the right to quality labels for 54 of its products. In addition, the gap between the rise in labor productivity and the rise in wages is growing.

Improvements in the organization of management were and are of major importance to counteracting negative phenomena. An added problem influencing the course of economic processes is the continuing improper discipline and incomplete utilization of work time as well as the turnover of the labor force. Production cost is yet another problem.

On taking the floor in the discussion, Ryszard Szypczynski, representative of the Chamber of the Treasury, declared that studies conducted by the state revenue services show that employment and wages are rising in most enterprises but productivity is declining. In his opinion anti-inflation programs are too general in nature at most enterprises. By way of an example, he named the "Tarnowska Odzierz" Tarnow Clothing Plant. Lt Col Leon Suliga, first secretary of the PZPR plant committee at the Machinery Works in Tarnow, pointed to the causes of the poor performance of his enterprise. In the last 1.5 years more than 6,000 employees have quit working at the Machinery Works. Stanislaw Podgorski, first deputy director at the IGLOPOL Agricultural Industrial Combine in Debica, shared his experience with the conservation and anti-inflation programs drafted at his plant. Increasing the labor productivity is task number one at the Combine.

Jerzy Maniawski, Central Committee member, first secretary of the PZPR plant committee at the Nitrogen Works, declared, among other things, that: "We have beautiful programs, but they are being implemented along the line of least resistance. Every plant is obligated by the resolution of the 9th PZPR Congress to implement the tasks of the economic reform as best as possible. We talk a lot about economizing, but what is being done about it? Commissions are replaced with committees, committees with offices, etc. The result? Changes in name entail changes in name plaques, rubberstamps and stationery letterheads. Old names that no longer apply have to be discarded."

In his turn, Dr Jan Reszeta, chairman of the Province Planning Commission, spoke about conservation and the province plan. Henryk Kaczmarczyk, director of the Inspectorate of Power Industry Management in Krakow, declared that energy consumption should grow at a slower rate than increase in production. On the other hand, in the opinion of Tadeusz Para, chairman of the Tarnow Province Branch of the NOT and director of the TAMEL Electrical Motors Factory (FSE), the principal tasks of the plants should be to conserve materials.

Jan Ogloblin, director of the WUCH [expansion unknown] in Debica, reported a decline in the proportion of blue-collar workers within the workforce at his enterprise. Andrzej Cyz, chairman of the Tarnow Province Branch of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth (ZSMP), discussed the contribution of youth to the conservation program, as made in the form of various labor-saving suggestions and inventions--which is something that Tarnow Province can be proud of. Tadeusz Kobylec, director of the Tarnow Province Branch of the National Bank of Poland (NBP), declared: "Programs should support the reform instead of hampering it."

Toward the end of the discussion the floor was taken to Prof Wladyslaw Baka, minister, government plenipotentiary for the economic reform. He took a position on the comments made in the discussion and presented the immediate tasks regarding the application of the economic reform. He declared: "We are preparing the next stage of the economic reform. The year 1984 will introduce new elements of the reform. The field for action has already been prepared, although we are still far from ordering the whole situation....Now we can plan for the future. Among other things, this planning has resulted in the Three-Year Plan. We already specified further actions in behalf of the economic reform. The principal directions are three: streamlining the machinery of the economic system; improvements in methods of central management vis a vis the enterprises; broadening the participation of workforces in the management of

the enterprises. These proposals for modifying the reform's tasks represent a great social experiment in our country....A great deal will hinge on the activism and commitment of the people to the implementation of the tasks inherent in the economic reform, and we are aware how many enterprises with potentially great possibilities are tardy in acting on the matter."/ [printed in boldface]

The adopted resolution declares that that, in order to fulfill completely and correctly the tasks ensuing from the resolution of the 7th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and the Parliamentary resolution, as relating to the application of the economic reform and the implementation of conservation and anti-inflation programs, the Tarnow Province PZPR Committee obligates party echelons and organizations, enterprise management and province administrative authorities to monitor repeatedly the implementation of plant conservation and anti-inflation programs. The resolution also requires performing periodic assessments of the fulfillment of these programs and introducing indispensable changes in plant incentive systems. The resolution also obligates, among others, the Province Team for Assessments of the Implementation of Conservation and Anti-Inflation Programs and the PZPR Province Committee Secretariat to consider thoroughly the suggestions and comments voiced during the Province Committee Plenum and transmit them for further action to appropriate agencies of state and economic administration as well as to socio-political organizations.

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[Article by (rz)] Following the PZPR Province Committee Plenum, representatives of the 15 largest work establishments in Tarnow Province and members of the Province Committee Secretariat and the Commission for the Economic Reform met for a working conference in the auditorium of the Executive Board of the Tarnow Province PZPR Committee. Their deliberations, which entirely dealt with problems of the economic reform, were chaired by Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Central Committee's Politburo and first secretary of the Tarnow Province PZPR Committee.

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PROVINCIAL PLENUM PARTY MEETINGS REPORTED

Interview of Sieradz Party Secretaries

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 7 Jun 83 p 3

[Interview with Karol Glapinski and Waldemar Mirowski by H. Sroczynski: "SIRA: An Acquired Asset" under the rubric "GLOS ROBOTNICZY Interviews With PZPR Plant Party Committee Secretaries"]

[Text] The SIRA plant enjoys a special standing in Sieradz. For it signaled the beginning of the construction of big industry in the city.

The SIRA was in the eyes of everyone. But this led to various consequences.

Karol Glapinski, the outspoken first secretary of the plant party committee, declared: "The idea was that its workforce should contain a greater proportion of party members than anywhere else in the city. And four out of every 10 did indeed belong to the PZPR. But later, in August [1980], when people were overwhelmed emotionally, a large number of persons relinquished their party cards."

Glapinski, who has been a knitting machine operator for 24 years, and who was elected first secretary barely a few days ago, is quite realistic when speaking of "tailoring" party work to the situation at the plant. Waldemar Mirowski, an information specialist and economist, who is some 15 years younger than Glapinski, and who also participates in the conversation, is restrained in his judgments. His restraint is not due to the fact that he has just quit the post of first secretary of the plant party committee (which he had held on an unpaid, volunteer basis while at the same time being active in a managerial post at the plant); it is rather because--as he says himself--"it is not easy to win over people whom past experiences make very skeptical."

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[Question] If participation in party meeting is a primary obligation, how do you assess the fulfillment of that obligation by party members at your plant?

[Answer, by K. Glapinski] Yes, we can start out by discussing the meetings. But what do we mean by meetings? Reports, discussion, resolutions? Not always. Now that the economic reform is operating, the piecework wage system is here and people have more to do. Many commute to work in Sieradz and right after work they are in a hurry to catch the bus home. As for women, shopping comes first to them. So we organize short meetings during the breakfast break plus infrequent one-hour meetings after work. All meetings in the factory departments are public, and the topics raised during them are those of most concern to the workforce. We also make sure that the meetings are attended by the present director, the department head and the first secretary of the plant party committee. Such meetings, at which information can often be obtained and a person can express his own--often critical--opinion, have become a custom at our plant. People attend them not only when the topic is that of the incentive system but also when we want to submit for public consultation the issue of conservation of raw materials and elimination of machinery breakdowns. For example, at least 90 percent of the personnel of the knitting department have attended such a meeting.

[Question] Is it like that at every branch party organization (OOP)?

[Answer, by K. Glapinski] Unfortunately, no. All party secretaries are not the same. Much also depends on the OOP aktiv. The knitting and distribution departments cannot be compared with the ready-made clothing department, where attendance at meetings is lower. At executive board meetings we talk with the other secretaries: various topics are proposed to them, and after some time they are asked, "What have you done about them?" Such an imposition of tasks and their verification has begun to bear fruit.

[Question] What is the effect of criticism at meetings?

[Answer, by W. Mirowski] These days the party is held responsible for everything at the plant--everything including, of course, living conditions and social services. But when these issues are discussed, part of the workforce is aware of what has already been accomplished. A division of light work for women has been organized; the regulations governing child-care leaves served to solve many problems of mothers; and the expansion of the warehousing and transport facilities made it possible to improve safety of labor in many ways. Currently the topic number one in discussions is the issue of selling our production rejects at the factory store. Coupons have been abolished and sales made public, so that city-dwellers who have no patience to stand in lines come in and buy up the store's stock. We shall solve this problem so as to please the workforce. As regards social services, we are always willing to help. We would also like it if more people were to come to the plant party committee with their problems. We cannot give everything to the employees but we want to help as much as we can.

[Question] To what extent does a good performance by the plant party committee influence the performance of the plant party organization?



[Answer, by K. Glapinski] That influence is at its strongest in two fields: first, the manner in which the plant party committee inspires the party organizations in the plant departments, surmounting the barriers of reluctance and inability; and secondly, the position taken by the committee on issues important to the workforce. Passive party members become active in party work when they see that we are beginning to count for something to non-party members. And what in particular attracts the attention of the workforce? The identity of persons with whom vacant posts are staffed. We have many older and valued individuals, persons with considerable experience. It can be said that the number of highly qualified non-party members appointed to vacant posts is greater than the number of party-member appointees. Most of the people who receive promotions at our plant also are non-party members. I must also say that we are satisfied with the good work and sobriety of judgments [as published]. We stretch our hand to whoever wants to cooperate with us.

[Question] Under the economic reform the influence of the plant party committee on certain fields is only indirect....

[Answer, by W. Mirowski] True! That is why we try to act through the mediation of our aktiv. We want our party members with a long seniority record, who enjoy authority, to be elected to the Worker Council, to many posts of union officers, and to various commissions and teams. After all, the party can exercise influence through its members. And this is in all ways useful--the principle of co-governing is thus fulfilled.

[Question] How numerous is your aktiv?

[Answer, by W. Mirowski] Of the nearly 500 party members we consider 50 to belong in the aktiv group. We meet regularly with that group, as we do with the secretaries, to discuss the most important issues. Unfortunately, the conferences, meetings and entertainment that are continually being organized by the municipal or province authorities distract many comrades from party work. On some days 15 persons have to be dispatched to these summons. Some of these conferences are good for nothing and only interfere with the reform.

[Question] That is the old style....

[Answer, by K. Glapinski] Not all activists realize that the work on behalf of the reform should be commenced by bearing in mind the new situation of the party at the plant. Now that every minute counts in their earnings, workers are critical toward any waste of time. What is more, the recommendations or directives received by the plant party committee do not take into account the real interests of people. This may be exemplified by party training.... At our plant that training is conducted by means of the plant radio station, which presents in extremely concise form the decisions of the party and the government, intra-party matters, brief commentaries on certain phenomena or events and discussion of certain chapters of the PZPR Statute.

[Question] Thus the reform is an asset to you....

[Answer, by K. Glapinski] Yes, because it has begun to function well at the plant. This is highly important to us. For many people, including some of the engineers and technicians who had previously taken negative positions, now are changing their minds, even though they do not always say so. As a result, we are now bolder toward those party members who have so far been passive. We shall now talk more often with the inactive party members and try to include them in our work.

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Our conversation was nearing its end. The first secretary of the plant party committee also mentioned that, having worked for so many years at the plant, he is personally acquainted with a large part of the workforce and understands its problems. He was interrupted by W. Mirowski, who declared that "When things look bad, people always divide into two groups: those who want to improve the situation through their own work, and those who remain aloof and watch what will happen next."

At the SIRA Plant the group of those who improve the party's situation is steadily growing--and this exactly provides the best answer to the question of what will happen next.

#### Tarnobrzeg Province Plenum

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 17 Jun 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Krystyna Matoszko: "Directions and Methods of Eliminating Disproportions in the Growth of the Province: Plenum of the Tarnobrzeg Province PZPR Committee"]

[Text] (Own information.) Yesterday's plenum of the Tarnobrzeg Province PZPR Committee defined the principal problems of the development of the infrastructure and the directions and methods of their solution. The participants in the discussion, which was chaired by Janusz Basiak, first secretary of the Province Committee, included: Henryk Pucilowski, deputy director of the Economic Department under the party Central Committee; Zdzislaw Kuhn, deputy minister of construction and building materials industry; and Czeslaw Kotela, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection. The deliberations also were attended by representatives of the enterprises and organizations concerned with the investment process in the social and technical infrastructure, city mayors and managers, and--for the first time--chairmen of worker councils from nine largest plants and chairmen of trade-union councils from the same plants.

The report of the Executive Board of the Province Committee, presented by Jerzy Zaranski, Province Committee secretary, stressed the rapid growth of the

industry of the province, which had been formed from three extremal parts of adjacent regions. Since 1975 a number of new plants of importance to the national economy has appeared in Tarnobrzeg Province, such as: the OZAROW Cement Plant, the POLANIEC Power Station, the Carbon Disulfide Plant in Grzybow, and the MARYCOWA Foundry Department at the HSW [expansion unknown] Plant. In addition, the following plants were expanded and modernized on considerable scale: the Gorzyce Transport Equipment Works (WSK), the SIARKOPOL Sulphur Mining and Processing Enterprise (KIZPS), the NIMET Metal Works in Niza; the Window Glass Plant in Sandomierz; and the DEZAMET Metal Works in Annopol. In effect, the province plays an important role in the national economy. It ranks 23rd in volume of production among the country's other provinces and 4th in volume of exports. Its agriculture also produces substantial results. Tarnobrzeg Province is the 4th largest supplier of vegetables and fruits in the country. It also is a major supplier of sugar beets, potatoes, milk and livestock.

On the other hand, the region ranks much lower in housing and attendant construction, whose plans are most often underfulfilled. As regards urbanization, Tarnobrzeg Province ranks close to the bottom, 45th; as regards occupancy per dwelling unit, it ranks 46th; and as regards both number of hospital beds and overall length of water supply network, it ranks 43rd. Thus there exist striking disproportions between the growth of industry and agriculture and the state of the infrastructure.

Ways of reducing these disproportions at a time when investment funds are extremely hard to obtain were considered by the participants in the plenary discussion: Jan Mackowiak, Province Committee member, secretary of the branch party organization (OOP) at the MACHOW Mine; Roman Myk, province committee member, representative of the Stalowa Wola-Rozwadow Hub of the Polish State Railroads (PKP); Andrzej Kalina, Province Committee member, secretary of the Staszow City-Gmina party committee; Stanislaw Gosek, Province Committee member, manager of the city of Sandomierz; Jacek Drezewski, Province Committee member, general director of the POLANIEC Power Station; Ryszard Hernik, Province Committee member, chief automation engineer at the Stalowa Wola Foundry; Andrzej Lesniak, deputy director for investments and development at the Gorzyce Transport Equipment Works; Wieslaw Pielaszkiwicz, mayor of Stalowa Wola; Jozef Gadecki, deputy director for economic affairs at the OZAROW Cement Plant; Czeslaw Kotela, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection; Wasyli Pietrow, mayor of Tarnobrzeg; Tadeusz Blazejczak, Province Committee member, director of Combined Gmina School in Jezowe; Stanislaw Wisznicki, Province Committee member, first secretary of the plant party committee at the Nowy Dab DEZAMET; Mieczyslaw Latawiec, general director of the Stalowa Wola MOSTOSTAL Bridge Components Plant; Zdzislaw Kuhn, deputy minister of construction and building materials industry; and Henryk Pucilowski, deputy director of the Economic Department under the Central Committee.

Against the background of the report presented on the needs of various communities, the discussion chiefly focused on specific problems of discrete cities and localities such as Tarnobrzeg, Ozarow, Sandomierz or Staszow, where the existing infrastructure leaves much to be desired. Changing this situation to the better requires building water intakes, boiler plants and waste treatment plants as well

as preschools, schools, nurseries and a hospital. The electrification of 166 villages has to be modernized as well. More than 66 percent of the province's population are, after all, rural dwellers, with 60,000 commuting to work in factories where they account for the basic manpower.

Hence, improvements in rural living conditions are as important as in urban ones. A priority problem is housing construction, but unfortunately this problem is extremely troublesome to all.

Despite the evident improvement in the performance of construction workers during the first 5 months of this year, multi-family buildings also are being erected too slowly in many localities (including Polaniec, Sandomierz, Ozarow, Staszow). This is due to various reasons, beginning with inadequate construction capacities, running through material shortages and ending with insufficient infrastructure, which so often hampers the pace of urban construction. Besides, infrastructure is becoming an increasingly important factor in construction, so that its expansion is a priority in capital spending under both the Three-Year Plan and the revisions of the province program for the entire current 10-year period. Thus, together with housing construction, infrastructure ranks at the top of the hierarchy and needs, next to other capital spending or the modernization of rural electrification. Determining the hierarchy of priorities has become necessary in view of the limited funds available--ranging at 6 billion zlotys--for the next 3 years. We cannot afford for some time to solve all the urgent problems of infrastructure. But more of these problems could be solved, provided, however, that work establishments would participate in solving them--chiefly by acting as financial sponsors. What also would help would be a more penetrating and thorough exploration of the possibilities for cutting the cost of implementing particular targets. This was strongly emphasized in the resolution adopted by the plenum.

Questions of the selection of criteria and economical implementation of resolutions have not, however, been adequately considered in the otherwise interesting and controversial discussion. It has not either, as pointed out by Janusz Basiak, avoided emotionality and arguments in favor of parochial community interests that were unjustified by general economic interests. On the other hand, when the discussion is considered as a whole, it has met the expectations. A topic that is highly decisive to the growth and future of the province was considered and particular projects as well as ways of implementing them were specified.

During the deliberations, Marian Krzyzanowski, member of the Executive Board of the Province Committee and the Plenum of the Province Committee, announced his resignation from both posts, for family reasons. The Plenum accepted his request.

#### Suwalki Province Party Plenum

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 18-19 Jun 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Jerzy Marks: "Great Needs--Smaller Possibilities" under the rubric "Plenum of the Suwalki Province PZPR Committee and ZSL [United Peasant Party]

Committee"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /(OWN INFORMATION) A joint plenary session of the PZPR and ZSL province committees was held in Suwalki. The deliberations, which were inaugurated by Waldemar Berdyga, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee, dealt with tasks of PZPR and ZSL organizations in developing agriculture, with special consideration of the technical infrastructure. Those attending the session included: Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Eugeniusz Gorzelak, member of the ZSL Supreme Committee, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers; Kazimierz Koziol, chairman of the ZSL Province Committee; Kazimierz Jablonski, province governor; and representatives of institutions and offices serving agriculture and the countryside./

The report of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee and the Presidium of the ZSL Province Committee was presented by Wojciech Szczepkowski, secretary of the Province Committee. At the outset he emphasized that water regulation is a basic prerequisite for increasing the agricultural output of Suwalki Province. Further, the speaker pointed to the principal problems indicated in the comments and opinions gathered during the preparations for the joint Plenum.

In this province 297,000 hectares of land require reclamation, but in recent years the average area of land reclaimed annually was barely about 3,500 hectares. At the same time, a considerable part of the facilities has become decapitalized, so to speak. Thus, aid from the outside is needed. Problems of capital spending as well as of increasing the quantity of needed equipment during 1982-1983 were to be solved within the framework of the operational program. Unfortunately, the program has not met the expectations. Another important issue is the conservation and proper operation of the existing reclamation facilities.

The report asked how can effects be maximized in the present difficult situation. First, the available potential of land reclamation enterprises should be exploited. This concerns in particular reducing the so-called unit cost. Secondly, new possibilities for increased spending should be explored. Budget surpluses, reactivation funds, the funds of water companies, and the Fund for the Development of Agriculture should serve as additional sources of capital spending, in addition to the allocated budget funds. Thirdly, the technical potential and employment at the enterprises should be increased. The ensuing duties for party organizations and ZSL circles should focus on active participation in drafting yearly plans for land reclamation and conservation.

An important problem in the province is local roads and the so-called technological farm roads. In principle, their pattern of deployment is correct. But their condition evokes serious reservations. Studies to improve this situation should focus on concentration of funds and expansion of funding sources. The

possibilities for participation by users in the construction or repair of jointly used roads should also be utilized more broadly.

Another field that affects the level of agricultural production is water supply. Here the main task is to find additional construction capacities. The under-utilization of capital outlays for this purpose should not be permitted. Yet this was the case last year. Much also remains to be done as regards electrification and primarily improvements in power supply conditions and expanding the rural telephone network.

The first person to take the floor during the discussion was Lucjan Nawrocki. He spoke chiefly about the problems plaguing the state farms (PGR). He identified the following principal problems: lack of housing and technological farm roads and the excessively slow pace of land reclamation. Forgotten reclamation projects and farm roads were also mentioned by Tadeusz Kolator. In his turn, Mirosław Burba focused on some problems of rural trade-union and self-government activities. He declared that peasants need a single strong trade union of farmers on which they could count in every situation. Edward Dziegiel commented on that speech. In addition, the speaker drew the plenum's attention to the as yet unutilized possibilities for increasing agricultural production, such as the proper cultivation of peat meadows in the western regions of the province. But this requires appropriate machinery and service organizations.

In his turn, Henryk Ciecuch, on using the Bargłow Koscielny Gmina as an example, spoke about the negligent performance of land reclamation enterprises. He also proposed that specialized studies of electrical installations be conducted on private farms. He declared that the reason for the poor quality of rural roads is their lack of hard surfacing. If they are to be built, they should be built solidly and not of sand, which does not solve any problem. This was also admitted by Czesław Przeborowski. Tadeusz Bucko, director of the Agricultural Department at the Province Office, appealed to the central authorities to expedite the decision on matters relating to the ordering of water management in the environs of the Great Masurian Lakes and in the valley of the Biebrza River. Zygmunt Rukscinski pointed to the lack of spare parts for Ursus tractors.

Eugeniusz Gorzelak of the Planning Commission gave assurances that Suwalki Province already is receiving priority in capital spending per capita. But since the possibilities are limited, grassroots initiatives, e.g. civic projects, are needed. He declared: "I have the impression that you are waiting for miracles. But don't count on the arrival of the Minister of Agriculture so that he may personally mow the grass in your ditches."

Taking the floor, Zbigniew Michalek, Central Committee secretary, took a position on certain issues raised in the discussion. He declared that the Suwalki plenum is a continuation of the joint Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee which defined two fundamental goals: the striving for equality of rights of all agricultural sectors and the increase in agricultural, chiefly crop, production. This concerns implementing the adopted resolutions through joint effort. The greatest capital and possibilities lie latent in people: in

their attitudes and commitment. "As for us, party members and ZSL members, we must provide an example by our work and activities."

The deliberations were concluded by adopting a resolution approving the directions of work identified in the submitted materials and report. These were, by the same token, recognized as the basis for the action of the echelons and organizations of the PZPR and the ZSL, the state administration and economic managers, and social, trade-union and self-government organizations, in developing the province's agriculture during the years 1983-1985.

#### Szczecin Province Plenum

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 22 Jun 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (Macz): "Militancy, Consistency, Authority--Basic Goals of the Party" under the rubric "Deliberations of the Szczecin Province PZPR Committee"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /Yesterday, under the chairmanship of Stanislaw Miskiewicz, first secretary of the Szczecin Province PZPR Committee, the party echelon of Western Pomerania held a plenary session. The report of the Province Committee's Executive Board, titled **""Coherence and Militancy of Basic Party Organization as a Cardinal Task for the Province Party Organization,"** serving as the introduction to discussion, was presented by Stefan Rogalski, secretary of the Szczecin Province PZPR Committee./

The deliberations were attended by Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee secretary. Invited participants included 150 secretaries of basic party organizations from Szczecin city and province.

Inaugurating yesterday's deliberations, Stanislaw Miskiewicz, first secretary of the Szczecin Province PZPR Committee, declared that, among other things, /this is already the second time during its current term of office that the province party organization is dealing with topics relating to intra-party life. The current plenary session was preceded by 3 months of auditing of basic and branch party organizations./

The report of the Executive Board assessed the implementation of the principles and decisions outlining the directions of work of basic party organizations. The assessment by the Executive Board of the Province Committee was based on dividing the period in question into two stages. During the years 1980-1981 the political enemy waged a frontal attack against party members and party organizations operating at production plants. Let us besides recall the slogan of extremists for removing party organizations from work establishments. That was also a stage when more than one party member did not withstand the constant pressure exerted on persons holding party cards. During those first 2 years of struggle against the political enemy the ranks of the province party organization in Western Pomerania declined by nearly 15,000 members.

However, that stage is already behind us--the report of the Province Committee's Executive Board states.

This finding was the basis for orienting the intra-party and ideological work. The principal directions worked out by the province party organization of Western Pomerania became the ideological rebirth of party members and the recovery of ability for efficient organizational activity by the basic party organizations (POP) and echelons. In addition, during that time tasks serving to enable the recovery of public trust by party elements were undertaken.

/The report of the Executive Board of the Szczecin Province PZPR Committee also stated that the party is the basic party organizations. And the value of the POPs is decided precisely by their members. The ideological commitment of party members will grow as they take a broader part in decisionmaking processes as well as in the programming of party work. The work of party organizations should at present be focused on rebuilding their leading role in the communities. But that role cannot be simply "inherent." /Authority must be won by every basic party organization through its own activities. Authority must be earned by every party organization./

The discussion, in which 10 [or 18, illegible] persons took part, was entirely concerned with aspects of intra-party life in basic party organizations and echelons. Thus it dealt with the function of the party meeting and the need to assign party tasks to POP members and make them consistently accountable for implementing these tasks. In addition, during the discussion it was stated that the party is wise through the wisdom of its members and strong through their moral strength. The steady improvement in climate around the party, observed by its members in their communities, also was mentioned. The next discussant assessed the materials and information provided to party organizations. These are auxiliary materials, unusually needed and suitable in the work of these organizations. In the speaker's opinion, the current system of intra-party information is to be positively assessed. Other comments that we recorded noted that the work of the party organization not only deals with organizational and ideological matters but also includes the participation of party members and basic party organizations in activities intended to improve the social and living conditions of all the employees of the plant or enterprise in which the party organization operates.

A comment on the indoctrination of the younger generations also was not lacking. This is a sector of party life on which at present much remains to be done and caught up with. Another discussant declared that the leading role of party organizations in the smaller work establishments and institutions also should be borne in mind. But we do not always bear this in mind and do not always know how to utilize the party cells operating within small collectives. Attention was also drawn to the need to make party teachings much more accessible than previously to party members. Thus this concerned the postulate for the Marxist arming of party members with the indispensable knowledge and arguments.



Marian Orzechowski then took the floor and declared that the activity of the PZPR is the key to the solution of Poland's problems. This fact was confirmed by the discussion at the Szczecin plenum of the province party organization. Further, the Central Committee secretary discussed the complex whole of problems relating to the role of basic party organizations, declaring that their role is most important inasmuch as the line of the front of struggle runs precisely across the POP.

In the name of the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat, the speaker conveyed to the party organization of Western Pomerania best wishes for further persistence in implementing the program of the 9th PZPR Congress.

The Plenum adopted a resolution outlining and defining more precisely the tasks posed to party organizations and aktiv. In addition, the Plenum placed the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee under the obligation of examining in detail the proposals made during the plenary discussion.

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